

Discourses
ON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
Protestant Princes
OF
EUROPE:

Exhorting them to an UNION and LEAGUE
amongst themselves,

AGAINST ALL

Opposite Interest,

From the Great Endeavours of the Court of *France*
and *Rome* to Influence all Roman Catholick Princes, against
the Protestant States and Religion; and the Advantage that
our Divisions give to their Party;

Wherein the General Scope of this

Horrid Popish Plot

Is laid down, and presented to

PUBLICK VIEW.

By EDMUND EVERARD *Esquire.*

Kept four years close Prisoner in the Tower by the Contrivance
of some English Subjects plotting against us in *France*, whom he five years
since discovered; and was lately justified and released by his Majesty.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Dorman Newman* at the King's Arms in
the *Poultrey*, 1679.

May the First, 1679.

I have appointed Dor-
man Newman Citizen
and Stationer of London
to print this Treatise.

EDMUND EVERARD.

ESSAYES of
Politick Discourses
ON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
Protestant Princes
OF
EUROPE:

Exhorting them to an Union and League amongst
themselves, against all opposite Interests.

PART I.

THe Ancient and Modern Histories furnish us succes-
sively with very good Examples, that the greatest
part of the Monarchies, Kingdoms, Common-
wealths, which have heretofore flourished with
great Glory, and have afterwards for the most part
been entirely demolished, fell into that miserable destruction by
two defaults, especially.

First, by degenerating and totally abandoning their pristine
virtues, and a soft negligence in not applying themselves to those
means which might have re-established them in the practice of
the same virtues as the principle whence their former puissance
was to be derived, and from the practice whereof they might be
in a condition to preserve it.

And secondly, by internal Divisions; which Ambition, Jeal-
ousie, Avarice or Vain glory fomented by the Artifices of their

B

Enemies,

Enemies, have frequently produced amongst Princes, or the Directors of their flourishing Estates.

Now then, since these pernicious courses have caused the ruine of all the greatest Puissances of the World; I conceive that no man will be so imprudent, as not to be of accord with me in this point; That it is the wisdom of those in whose hand God hath trusted the direction of any sovereign and lawful power, diligently with all their care and might to avoid falling into such accidents.

And I also believe, that every wise man will likewise agree; That they more especially have the strongest Reasons to keep themselves most exactly on their guard, who cannot be ignorant by many pressing experiences, that they have on their necks very many both secret and publick, armed, subtle, powerful and active enemies, who are perpetually in motion to take advantages of all favourable conjunctures to procure their ruine, which they endeavour with very great care, and by all sorts of means to procure and foment.

This foundation being laid, let us briefly examine whether in the modern conduct of the Protestant States in *Europe*, they have strictly guided themselves in every thing which may be called the Interest of their Preservation, according to such Rules as are sufficient, not only to contribute to their maintenance in their Estate, but to procure unto them the most considerable Augmentations therein; or whether a good part of them have not rather been visibly engaged by the Modern Artifices of their natural enemies, into such paths as are capable not only to enervate their principal Forces, but by consequence to draw them on, like the aforesaid States into an entire destruction.

No man can deny, as it seems to me, that God's blessing was abundantly poured out on the labours of those great Persons, whom his Providence was pleased to make use of in the last Age for the advancement of the work of Reformation and extirpating out of the Christian communion, all the abuses and Idolatrous errors, which the Spirit of darkness, by the Ministry of the Papacy had established throughout the whole extent of the Western Church. By this success it came to pass that two Parties were formed; which in what concerns Spirituals and Temporals, divided all this part of *Europe*, which composes the said Church.

Now being the First-Fruits of this Reformation were such as suddenly stopped the progress of the Papacy, and broke the greatest part of the measures which the Bishops of *Rome* had taken

taken up, successively since the Reign of the Parricide *Phocas*, to establish a despotick and universal Monarchy over all Christendom, as well in Temporals as Spirituals. This Truth being perfectly well known by the See of *Rome*, it were extreme folly to doubt of the true Resentments which those Bishops have against the Protestants, and especially against the Kingdoms and States that protect and profess this Faith; so that it ought to be the more observed, that since the providence of God gave this overthrow to the Papal Tyranny, this Beast which hath horns like those of the Lamb, is in a condition to speak with the power of the first Beast; that is to say, the Bishop of *Rome*, with the Title of *Servant of Servants*, which they craftily affect to assume, have so well ordered their Conduct, that they have thereby been enabled no less than the ancient *Cesars* by sword and fire, (as *Greg. 7. Urb. 2. Paschall 2. Boniface the Eighth* did) to attempt to make themselves to be acknowledged for despotick and universal Monarchs of Christendome, as well over Temporals as Spirituals.

And to prove in a few words, and in an uncontrollable manner, what we have propounded we may conclude for certain, as to temporal concerns; that since the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, the Roman Bishops after many Debates and cruel Wars, which they caused to be raised on all hands against the Emperors of the West, have not only been dispensed with from being named; or approved by the Emperors themselves, as the ancient custom was; but having by succession of time and a thousand unjust ways, so highly advanced themselves above them, that these Monarchs have been forced afterwards, as History assures us, until *Charles the Fifth* inclusively, not only to acknowledge the Roman Bishops for their Superiors; but unless they would incur their Indignation (which usually was followed with their ruine) to abase themselves unto that abjectness of spirit, as to go and kiss their feet, in all humble prostration, or as they mounted to or lighted from their Horses; and the most part of them durst not take upon them to be Emperors, till after their Approbation or Coronation by their or their Legates hands.

The chief Monarchs of all Christendom being reduced to this pass; is it not true, that the Bishops of *Rome*, who hold it for a Maxim, never to let go their Pretentions, and to make every thing that falls out for their advantage, a Prescription, have really usurped and effectually enjoyed the Superiority over the Principal Temporal Dominion of Christendom? And this is so true, that before the holy work of Reformation this petty Priest hath

hath been seen insolently many times to take the Imperial Crown from the Father after he had trod one of the most Illustrious Emperors as a Basilisk under his feet, to transfer it to his Son ; or if indeed the Emperor's Children were more careful to observe the Law of God in this point, than that of this man of sin, and would not recede from the respect and obedience due unto their Father, then to transfer it to the first ambitious person, who could be found of a seditious humour, his presumption being risen to that Insolency, that he made not more difficulty in the quality of a Supreme Dispenser both of the Imperial, and all other Crowns of Christendom, than to dispose of them of an inferior order, albeit they were Hereditary for the most part, in favour of whom he pleased : of this *Navarre* affords us a living example, which abides entire unto this day. Passing by (to avoid prolixity) the Subsidies and burdensome Homages which have been established on the Kingdoms of *England*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Naples* and *Aragon*, as well as what they have endeavoured to execute on all the other States of Christendom ; this may suffice (as seems to me) to make all these States to see the Interest they have unanimously to oppose the progress of the Papacy, so as to prove what I have above propounded, what these proud Bishops have attempted upon the Temporal Dominion of all Christendom until the time aforesaid.

To prove what progress the same Bishops have made in their Usurpations upon the Spiritual Power, it is sufficient to read their own Decretals, and what they have been able to cause to be decreed in the greater part of the last Councils, and to know the Doctrine which all the Sophisters of the *Vatican* do openly teach and Preach more or less, according to the Places where they reside, and which is universally received (save in the Estates of the Republick of *Venice*) in all the extent of *Italy*, and in the Monarchy of *Spain*, and hath taken but too pernicious roots in all other States where the Magistrate is of the Roman Communion.

And the Protestant States flatter themselves extreamly, if they be perswaded ; That by the Progress which the work of Reformation hath made in *Europe*, and the infeebling which in its process it hath caused in the Papal Power, this Enemy is so far weakened ; that he is not to be feared any more : for it is so far from being so, that it is the more dangerous, as well for its formidable Power wherein it still appears, having in some degree abated its Politick Severity, as not judging it necessary any longer since the checks that have befallen it by the advancement of the Reformation,

tion, or Imprudence of some of its Bishops; so also for that the Court of *Rome* is now more than ever rectified in its refined Policy, to be able by imperceptible and secret ways to recover its self to its first glorious Lustre. And being *Rome* cannot attain thereto but by the total ruine of its natural Enemies, which consist (as I have shewed above according to my supposition) in the Protestant Party, it is not to be admired if after this shock, they have stirred every Stone to bring about the destruction of that party, and that so long as there are any Roman Bishops, *Rome* still labours it with all its forces, and all its diligence.

For this reason, when the Imperial House of *Austria* was in condition by its great Inheritances, which successively fell to it in the two last Ages, by its immense Indian Treasures, by its greatness and dignity of the first and most considerable Monarchy of Christendom, and by its numerous and formidable Armies to push on the Progress of its great and vast Designs of an Universal Monarchy: The Court of *Rome* was subtle and happy enough to perswade it that it could not attain thereto, but by taking on it the quality of its principal Protector, and in being the cruel Executioner of the establishment of its Authority, and all its freques. *France, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia*, and the Princes of the Low-Countries know what Rivers of blood have flowed from this pretence; and all *Europe* knows the enfeeblement which this Illustrious House hath brought on it self by being surpris'd by Maxims so little enlivened by the spirit of true Christianity, and of so little Discretion and Judgment.

For this same Reason also *Rome* after it had served it self of the Puissance and Forces of this Imperial House so far as to have reduced it to an extenuation and feebleness capable to draw on its total destruction, if the providence of God by the generous Succours of its Allies had not prevented; knowing otherwise that this House was not any longer in condition to serve and advance its Projects, but in the quality of a suffering Party, and that its diminution seemed to give place to his most Christian Majesty by the formidable power of his Forces, and his numerous Treasures to pursue with success the career of the Universal Monarchy. *Rome* I say, which hold for a Maxim from the time of its first progress, to spend the Forces of the most puissant for its own Elevation, hath been also crafty and fortunate enough to perswade this Monarch against all the Rules of a Judicious Policy, that he could not attain his great and vast Designs, but by attempting at the same time (as the House of *Austria* had before
C done)

done, the ruine of the States and Protestant Religion in *Holland*, and by taking contrived measures without the privy of His Majesty of Great Britain, with many of his Subjects, to re-establish the Romish Religion in *England*, and also to ruine the Protestant Religion in *Germany*, and all his own Dominions.

And to speak the truth, this last enterprize, which by this principle hath been in a great part managed by the Emissaries of the Court of *Rome*, hath been so subtly conducted, that it may be said nothing hindred his Majesty the most Christian King for many days, but that by the surprize of *Amsterdam*, after that of *Utrich* and *Naerden*, he might have made himself in less than four Months, absolute Prince of the principal part of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries, and thereby to have become in one *Campania*, the absolute Arbiter of all Christendom both at Sea and Land : And those who more specially understand the error of Estate, which this Monarch hath made on this occasion, may know somewhat of the true Reason of that great Traverse of State in particular, which for my part I attribute to a formal Protection of the King of Kings, who in his Supreme Councils had doubtless ordained otherwise, of that affair, and understand that if his Majesty after he had surprized *Utrich* and *Naerden*, had sent only 500 Horse to *Amsterdam*; it was probable that the Magistrate and Burgesses of that Town in the Consternation into which the Rapidity of his Conquests had put them, would have delivered up the Keys and Gates thereof purely and simply into the hands of the Conquerour. Yea, I am assured from good hands, the major part had concluded to send him them without staying for Summons, had not a Doctor of Physick in their Company threatned to call and mutiny the Common People against them, and so compelled them to change their Resolves. Now they who know the Treasures and Sea-Forces of this single Town, may thence deduce solid proofs of the consequences, that would thereupon have followed.

By this only blow, and the manner after which the Ministers of *France* had begun thereupon to behave themselves in the States of the *Palatinate*, *Cleve*, the *Marquisatte*, and all the Protestant States in *Europe*; all they who love their Faith and their Liberties may see the fatal point, whereby they were about to be deprived of both; for the most part, and all this, by the Ministry of the Emissaries of the Court of *Rome*, and by their own neglecting too much the solid means of their Conservation.

Awake thou who slumberest, that thou be not surprized with Sleep, which will draw on thee Ruine and Desolation.

Making a serious reflection on the active conduct of the Roman party, for the extension and maintenance of their Faith, and the soft effeminateness and indifferency wherewith the Protestant party are accustomed to act in the propagation and support of theirs; I think I may say, that the former may be justly compared to an Army not only numerous, but very well disciplined, provided of very good Leaders of excellent counsel, who marching in the Field make their Scouts to advance carefully on their right and left, to make all sorts of Discoveries, who when encamped retrench themselves always very well, who cause every night their Rounds and Guards to be made very regularly, and who as persons accomplished in worldly wisdom know subtly to foment in their Enemies Camp perpetual Divisions amongst their Chieftains, and cause an infinite number of crafty, subtle and faithful Spies to slide in amongst them, who render a most exact account of all their motions and condition.

On the contrary, I think that the Protestant party, may be compared to an Army very numerous indeed, and provided of excellent Commanders, who want neither Experience nor Courage, but who are by some unhappy Jealousies, fomented for the greatest part by the Artifices of the contrary party, divided amongst themselves, and so reduced to that misery, that this Army which is capable by the Excellency of its Captains, and nature of its Forces to fall upon what part it could desire, of the Enemies Army, having abandoned all use of Retrenchment, and of *Corps de Guard* to secure its safety, and also neglected all the means whereby it might be informed of the motions of the Enemies Camp; so great disorder is thereupon ensued, that the Army of the Enemy doth often, to their shame, beat up their Quarters, and make them actually fall into confusions, unworthy the honour and courage of the Heroick Commanders, which the providence of God hath established in the Head of their Army.

Every Kingdom divided against it self, comes to destruction, saith the Saviour of our Souls: In truth this is a Lesson of which all the Protestant States ought very carefully to make their advantage, and on the account of their Glory, their Faith, and their Interest think a little more seriously then hitherto they have done, for the
last

last half Age, of the means to procure their Union as the fundamental point of their preservation.

The providence of God, which is miraculous in all the cares it taketh for the conservation of his Children, hath established a natural opposition betwixt the two principal Puillances of Christendom, which same are the two principal Bulwarks of the Roman Communion in this part of the World, and yet so great are the depths of Satan, that this crafty and subtle spirit knows to suggest never failing means to this Roman Court to make this Division (which were capable to bring about its entire ruine, if the Protestant States knew how to use their advantages) turn to its profit; so that whatsoever opposition or disunion hath hitherto happened, betwixt these two States, *Rome* knows the secret thereof effectually to make an advantage as it designs.

For in the first place is it not by the effect of this opposition, that *Rome*, as the great *Rohan* observes, doth preserve its temporal Authority entire in a great part of *Italy*, which would be in a pitiful state if either of these Monarchs after he had defeated his Concurrent, had free Elbow-room in that pleasant part of *Europe*?

In the second place, during the sitting of the Council of *Trent*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* being the chief mouth of *France*, and so qualified became the head of that party of the Fathers, who in this Council insisted on a real and actual Reformation to be made in the Church; *Rome* was too clear sighted not to perceive that this single Proposition carries in it the means to undermine at one blow all the Foundations of its Monarchick Designs, as manifestly did appear in that troublesome conjuncture; for at that time more than half Christendom had shoke off the yoke of its tyranny, and had openly embraced the Reformation with little difference in the less or more, and the other half extremely disposed to receive it; nevertheless in this extremity, *Rome* knew to manage her Interest with so great dexterity by means of the jealousy which raged betwixt these two Houses, that having promised *Philip* the Second, the Destruction or Conquest of *France*, and to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to make the Crown of *France* fall into their House, the League which should have destroyed *France* being signed thereupon, by this diabolical expedient, *Rome* made not only all the Pretensions of the Council illusory, which it disposed of afterwards how it pleased; but by the opposition it raised by *Philip* the Second, and the House of *Lorrain* to *Henry* the

the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth; *Rome* brought the business so about that it was impossible for the later to Reign in *France* without embracing its Communion, and by that means *Rome* continues there triumphant unto this day, and the Protestants have been and are still most severely dealt with.

Thirdly, it is not an effect of the Jealousie that reigns betwixt these two Houses, that *Rome* hath had opportunity to inspire them so strongly to contend mutually in making out whether of them were more zealous of the Worship of the Roman Faith; so that contrary to all the most essential Rights of their States and Crowns, the former to preserve himself in the quality of the Catholick King, hath suffered the new Emissaries of the Papacy in less than one Age to invade many very good Inheritances; so that the Church at this day enjoys near a third part of the Temporal Estate through the whole extent of that Monarchy, and the other to maintain the Quality of the most Christian King, though he hath seen two of his most Illustrious Predecessors assassinated by their Parricides or Ministers in a very short time, and the Laws of his Kingdom are repugnant to such Establishments; yet nevertheless hath and doth still every day tolerate the same, so far that the Cities of *France* may be seen as well provided of Fortresses and Colonies of the Papacy under the names of Covents, Religious Houses, Colleges and Abbeys, as those of *Spain* and *Italy*, which may be called the Triumph of the Papal Policy, it being infallibly certain that in process of time, if God redress it not, The Successors of these Monarchies must by all the Rules of a Judicious Policy, together with their Subjects, become the Miserable Slaves of the Despotick Monarchy of the Papacy?

In the fourth place, *Spain* being no longer in a condition to patronize the Emissaries of the Court of *Rome* with a real Establishment in *Amsterdam*, nor in the remaining extent of the whole United Provinces, nor durst any more enterprize any thing openly against *England*, nor the Protestants of *Germany*, hath not *Rome* now served it self of the opposition which reigneth betwixt these Houses, sacrificing impudently that of *Austria* at this blow, to the violation of all sorts of Treaties, to make his most Christian Majesty to attempt in our dayes in this particular, what all the Forces of the House of *Austria* could not do heretofore, and well it was that God was pleased to blow upon all these Designs; for otherwise the States of the United Provinces had not been the only miserable, but all European Christians must have changed Face as to the Liberty of their Faith and Estates in a very little space of time?

In the fifth place, as *Rome* hath the Art to subtilize all the advantages that it can draw from all Conjunctions, and as it embraceth no-

thing more readily in all its Projects, than any Design to destroy the Protestant Party, from their Heads, to the meanest member of them, that the poor Protestants of High *Hungary* might not escape this general Persecution; was it not an effect of the opposition which rages betwixt those Houses, that *Rome*, being about to draw a cruel storm over the Protestants, the Emissaries of the Papacy had the craft to make his most Christian Majesty to understand, that there being none but his Imperial Majesty, who could vigorously traverse his Designs on *Holland*; it was his Interest to give him Business in his own State, and that this could not be done by any probability otherwise, than by fomenting the Revolt on the Coast of High *Hungary*, therefore he must of necessity purchase the Heads of the Protestants in that Country to his part? Now at the same time that these Emissaries caused this Doctrine to be solicited in the Court of *France*, and by their solicitation obtained Money and Treaties in *France*, and insinuated themselves into High *Hungary*; the Brethren of the same Emissaries, who are as puissant in the Imperial Court, as the former in the Court of *France*, by Intelligence and Conspiracy with the former, had the dexterity without notice it may be precisely given thereof at first to his Imperial Majesty, to cause it to be determined at the Court of *Vienna*, that cruel Persecutions should be raised against those miserable People; we must not wonder then, that those poor People, Members of our Faith, persecuted on one hand, and flattered on the other, are fallen into the trap set for them by the Court of *Rome* with so great dexterity, and that thereupon we have seen the Protestant Body in that Country in this last conjuncture, agitated with such furious Convulsions.

In the sixth place, the Tripple League of *England*, *Sweden*, and the United Provinces, having made Peace between *France* and *Spain* in the Year 1668. because by the continuance of this League the Protestant Party might have made themselves really the Figure in the Number of the true Arbiters of the worldly Powers, is it not by an effect of the same opposition, that *Rome* in this last Conjuncture, making use of the Ambitions, Forces, and management of the Ministers of *France*, knew by its charms cast upon *England* and *Sweden*, to dissolve this Gordian Knot of Peace, and force out of the hands of the Protestant Party the advantage to them so glorious, and which might have been so profitable to the Repose and Tranquillity of all Christendom?

And that Posterity may not be ignorant of the Success of these Managements in this Point, was it not in the seventh place by the infallible consequences of the aforesaid Breach, that for a *Præludium* to all the Advantages which this Mother of Tares might hope from this dissolu-

dissolution which we have seen; she knew to arm *England* against the Republick of the United Provinces with so much cruel obstinacy, that at the same time, when this last was hurried by the Land-flood of one of her Ministers passionate or corrupted, and was to sustain on the Continent all the Forces of *France*, and its Allies, after an unhappy Invasion upon 46 or 47 Places; the former joyns all its Sea-Forces with those of *France*, and gave fiercely in one Expedition three cruel Battles to this later, capable to have wrought its total Destruction, if in this conjuncture God had openly declared himself for their Protection?

For the eighth consideration, is it not from the natural consequences of the said management, that we now see since the last *Campania*, the three Puissant Protestants of the North have entred into the entanglement of a War, which cannot but prove fatal to one of those three Potentates; and so to the general Protestant Body, which we may say is to know very well by a dexterity worthy of their Principal, to make their Enemies destroy one another, a Policy which a thousand Experiments one following the other have taught us very well to know, that *Rome* doth possess in greatest excellency, and whereunto without doubt she owes her Elevation?

But if the Court of *Rome* from such an opposition as ought in all Appearance, to be fatal unto it (if the Protestant Party knew to make use of it) hath notwithstanding the dexterity to draw from thence such real Advantages for the advancement and maintenance of its greatness, and is by the same means arrived at a Power to draw to its self such considerable ones, as it hath already or would have attained had the Invasion of the United Provinces succeeded; then the Protestants themselves ought not to doubt (if for their sins God should ever permit the effective Union of these two Puissances, whether by some Treaty advantageous to both, as the division of some Protestant Estates may be, or naturally by right of Succession which may happen in the greatest part) that in such case *Rome* will know to take its Advantage and infallible Measures, if God hinder not to destroy at once the Protestant Party in *Europe*: And from thus much I think every man who is but a little clear sighted, and makes reflection seriously on the Conduct of the Papal Court, must needs be put out of doubt concerning this matter.

Rome besides hath found out an infallible means by the disposal of its Purple without being at a penny charge, to acquire the suffrage and protection of the greater part of all the Ministers of State to the most Crowned Heads of their Communion; for as they are commonly men of mean Birth, so, If they were of the most Illustrious, a Cardinal's Cap by the corruption or blindness of these last Ages, is to great

great a glory to a Family, that there are very few who to procure this vanity to their House in causing it to be conferred on a Son, Brother, or Nephew, would not submit and render themselves slaves to this Court as much as the most passionate of all their Monks, and as those Ministers are for the most part persons corrupted with the Affairs of the World, and who know perfectly the weaknesses of their Princes; it is no wonder if they know and will take exactly the favourable moments to persuade them what they please, so that *Rome* hath infallibly all the satisfaction it desires by the Counterpoise of the Principles of these Interests to cast all the Princes of its Communion when it pleases; and it is by these Maxims which cannot rise but from the bottomless pit, that we see the Protestants so cruelly persecuted in many places of Christendom, as in *France*, *Hungary* and *Savoy*; and hence it was that our Grandfathers saw or suffered in the execrable day of Saint *Bartholomew* in *France*, with the Massacres that have been made in *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and the Low Countries, *Ireland* the Valley of *Piedmond*, the *Valtoline*, without setting in the Particulars of this reckoning what the Ancient *Hussites*, *Vandois* and *Albinois* have suffered in their times on the same account in divers Places in *Europe*.

And it will infallibly come to pass, that unless the Protestant States, with regard of what I give them to know, do rectify their conduct at the moment they least suspect, and when they have consumed their principal Forces by their Wars and Divisions amongst themselves, or perhaps by maintaining the Interests of some power of the Roman Communion, and when they confide in the Faith of some Treaties; this Roman Dame (by her Managers reuniting all the Forces of her Communion) will feed them with a dish of her cooking, to their total destruction, which is the principal Butt of all her Applications and all her Labours, the Sallies and Retreats of all her Guards, which she sends out into all Parts, in the mean time all this while till a blow come, the whole Protestant Camp sleep all in perfect rest, or at most, they are but half awake, or perhaps busie themselves to cooperate by the destruction of its own Members unto its own ruine, as they of the Republick of the United Provinces in the conjuncture of the Siege of *Rochelle*, and *England* in the last place against that Republick, have furnished us with two capital and lamentable Examples.

But if *England* and *Holland* on the foresaid occasions have provided us of unhappy proofs of what I above propounded, what hath the *Swede* done in an almost equal case? for what had the *Swede* more to desire than to preserve peaceably the glorious Conquests which the Great *Gustavus* had made in *Germany*, and *Charles Gustavus* had made in

in *Poland* and *Denmark*, but to see himself at the same time, by his confederation with *England* and *Holland*, to be one of the Principal, who was in a condition to regulate the Bounds and Frontiers of all the Powers of Christendom. All which advantages this Crown had naturally preserved to it self, if acting as a true Member of the Empire, it had put it self in a posture, as their Electoral Highnesses of *Brandenburg*, *Saxony*, and the *Palatinate*, to oppose it self with the Head and other Members against the Enemy, who did invade it with all his force; it being certain, that by one advance of this nature, the *Swede* had infallibly brought about three things which had been very profitable and glorious for him.

1. He had taken away all lawful pretence from the Emperor and Empire, whereon they could assail his Estate in *Germany*.

2. He had raised no occasion to the King of *Denmark* to put him in condition to recover his Estates, which the *Swede* had possessed in the Reign of his late Majesty of *Denmark* his Father.

3. If *France* had not flattered himself into a perswasion, or rather had not been assured by his managery and tampering with some corrupt Ministers of that Crown, that the *Swede* was engaged in his Interests, he durst never have attempted what he enterprized upon the Empire; and thereby this War, whereof God knows when we shall see an end, had probably been immediately concluded after his Irruption into *Holland* was defeated; which would have given an infallible means to the *Swede* and *England*, to reassume their true Interest, to renew much more strongly than ever the Tripple League, and so to become again the Pillars of Peace in *Europe*, from which the one and the other are very far removed, if God provide not a remedy; the *Swede* for his part seeing himself in this unhappy condition about to loose, it may be, in a very little time, (by suffering himself to be seized by the Current of *France*, and carried away to the management of the Papal Emissaries) all the Conquests which the great *Gustavus* had gloriously made, for having opposed with all its Forces the Establishment of its Tyranny.

Let it not displease the Swedish Ministers of State, that were of the opinion to declare themselves against the Empire, to understand that there was a very great difference of the time of great *Gustavus* from this. That Heroick Monarch leagued himself with *France* for the advancement of his Progress in *Germany*, because he entered into it in the quality of a Restorer of the Protestant and German Liberty, and when *France* at the same time declared for sustaining the same Liberty.

But in this juncture the *Swede* himself was an Essential Member of the Empire; and whereas *France* formerly employed his Arms to su-

tain that Liberty he in this juncture employs them to oppress the same. It is hence evident, that the *Swede* joyning himself unto his own true Interest, ought in common, with the rest of the Empire, Head and Members, to have opposed all his Forces against this Puissance; and so much the more, because he might see by what *France* had endeavoured to execute against *Holland*, and their Electoral Highnesses of the Palatinate of the *Rhine* and *Brandenburg*, what he was himself to expect of *France*, if they had prospered in their first Invasion, and in all his vast Designs against the Empire.

But if the *Swede*, to secure all in case that *France*, by the sequel of the War, had lost its Establishments in *Alsatia* (which is the point that seemed to have produced this Declaration against his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg*) had desired any president and particular Stipulation of his Imperial Majesty and his Allies, it is very probable that in the beginning of the War, when all sorts of Events were dubious, his Imperial Majesty and his Allies, would have given the Crown all the satisfactions and securities which it could reasonably desire in that point: and that which may justify this against all Objections, is, that it was very remarkable and manifest, that his Electoral Highness and his Allies, did not, till the very last Extremity, take those strong Resolutions of opposing his Enterprize: So that it is certain, that if the *Swede*, by his Invasion of the Estates of *Brandenburg*, had not drawn on him the Storm which at present overwhelms him, he had till now, according to all appearances, been in the peaceable possession of all his Estates and Establishments through the whole Extent of the Empire.

But whatever have been the Counter-marches of *Holland*, and *England*, and *Sweden*, on the said occasions, it being impossible to hinder what is already done, I believe it becomes the generosity and prudence of Protestant Princes, to strip themselves from all prejudices which might divide them, and apply themselves seriously to all the means that may unite them, as the fundamental point of their preservation; and which may render vain all the deceits their common enemies can project or take in hand for their destruction: and so much the more, because they ought formally to conclude it for a positive Truth, that the Court of *Rome*, which by the principle of its Interest, neglects nothing that may procure their destruction, directs indifferently in certain Cases, the State-Councils of the Monarchies of its Communion, though otherwise cruelly divided by their particular Interests, or will find an infallible secret to delude their deliberations, when they find them contrary to their Interests and Intentions.

And to prove this truth in an uncontrollable manner, I will make it good, without departing from this Age, by four positive and cogent Examples upon this Subject.

Ex-

Example 1.

France neglects nothing in the conjuncture of the last Troubles of *Bohemia*, to perswade his Electoral Highness the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to attempt the Conquest of that Realm, ingaging himself for that purpose, to furnish him with all sorts of real Assurances and Succours, which in that Conjuncture, by all sorts of Circumstances, appeared to be the true Interest of *France*, without all contradiction; notwithstanding, when the Prince was ingaged in the Affair, because the matter of Religion was concerned therein, *Rome* knew so well to manage the Councils of *France*, by the means of Spanish Pistols, that *France* did not only fail of all those points in this matter, but by an imparallel'd treachery, (the *Palatine* House being oppressed in the consequences through the evil Suits of that War) made a private League with the House of *Bavaria*, of the Roman Communion, who had invaded the state of the former, and in consequence thereof, *France* was the capital and principle cause, which hindred that his Serene Highness, the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, hath not been fully re-established in all the Estates and Dignities of his House.

Example 2.

A fatal experience, as I have else-where observed, hath been but too apparent in the most Illustrious House of *Austria*, which in the surrender of *Rochel*, hath felt that fatal point which hath broken all its Forces, when in its greatest state of glory, and reduced it to such an abasement, as was capable to have drawn on it a total destruction, if two thirds of *Europe* had not generously confederated with all their Forces, in this last conjuncture to sustain it. The great *Spinola* who past by *Rochel* in the time of the Siege, fore-seeing the Surrender of this place, [by the means he foolishly suggested of shutting them out from the Sea] if it were not readily relieved, and therewith the losses that thereupon would follow to the prejudice of this House, insisted like a man of worth, at the Council-Table at *Madrid*, pressed it with all his Judgment and Experience, to cause that place to be relieved; his Reasons were strong, and the greater part of the Ministers of the Council were convinced; nevertheless, because the Affairs of Religion were concerned, or rather a point of the Roman Mummery and Bigottery, one single word of the Pope's *Nuntio* overbore all, and caused *Rochel* to be abandoned on that accompt, and with it the most essential Interests of this Imperial House, were sacrificed at the only appearance of a Papal Emissary.

Example 3.

The three United *Grisons* were oppressed by the House of *Austria*, this Common-wealth put themselves under the Protection of *France*, who for some time, by the help it sent by the Marquess of *Coeuvres*,
and

and the Duke of *Rohan* acted with vigour enough for their Protection, so much the more, for that the latter in a few Months did such things in the Valley of *Valtolline*, as surpassed all imagination, and have immortalized his memory. But because *Rome* by a principle of its Interest made it self a party to the Event of this War, as gave in this conjuncture most real proofs of its Authority in these Courts; *France* made its Treaty so with the House of *Austria*, without concerning the *Grisons* therein, for excluding the exercise of the Reformed Religion from the Valleys of *Borneo*, the *Valtoline*, and County of *Chavanes*, that these two Powers were reconciled upon this point in effect to force that Republick to pass it by Articles before provided by the Pope's *Nuntio*; which caused the *Grisons*, seeing themselves betrayed by the French, through timorousness, corruption, or otherwise, to make a second Treaty with the House of *Austria* with very burdensome Clauses, as to the concern of these Exercises, whereof I shall speak hereafter in the Sequel of this Discourse.

Example 4.

In the Year 1672, when the Arms of *France* were in so high a point of prosperity, that all *Europe* looked on the Republick of the United Provinces as an Estate almost undone; his most Serene Electoral Highness, the Duke of *Brandenburg*, who judged profoundly of all consequences which were to be expected from the ambitious Enterprizes of *France*, if no opposition were made to the Current of these prosperities, acquired to himself both the glory of being the first Prince of Christendome who generously drew his Sword for the protection of this distressed State, and did also by his most vigorous Representations at the Court of *Vienna*, cause his Imperial Majesty (rising out of his unhappy Lethargy, whereinto some corrupted Counsellors had plunged him) to resolve to arm vigorously, and League with his said Electoral Highness, for the maintainance and protection of this Republick. In consequence of this determination, his Electoral Highness being advanced to the Bank of the *Rhine* with a considerable Army, the Count *Montecuculi* commanding an Imperial Army, marched therewith to that end, and were in prospect of doing together some considerable thing in favour of that Common-wealth. *France* allarmed with the march of these two German Armies, sent away Marshal *Turenne* with a Body of an Army, who might observe the motions of these two; but by the divers Marches and Counter-marches which these two Armies made, and specially that of *Brandenburg*, sometimes making as if he would pass the *Rhine* in many places, and sometimes as if he would fall on the Allies of *France* on the other side the *Rhine*; the Army of *Turenne* was so beaten out, that in the end of the *Campania* it was in a manner wholly

wholly dissipated, and was indeed in so pitious an Estate, that it is certain, that all what *Turenne* could have done in that conjuncture, was only to bring himself into a condition to defend himself against one of these Armies; but if their conjunction had really followed upon a public confidence and appointment, *Turenne's* destruction had been notoriously inevitable: and his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg*, who knew how easie it was to destroy *Turenne*, and the consequences which might ensue, made all these things to be vigorously represented at the Court and Council of *Vienna*; this Representation took effect, and thereupon positive Orders were expedited and sent to *Montecuculi* to joyn with his Electoral Highness, and in conjunction without delay to fight *Turenne*; which by that single success would have dissolved all the secret and manifest contrivances of *France*, and by this blow alone have withdrawn the whole Empire and *Holland* from oppression. But for the interest of the Roman Court the matter was carried quite otherwise; His Majesty of Great Britain suffered himself to be perswaded in this Juncture to consent, by an express Declaration which he reported himself to his Parliament, to give liberty of the Exercise of Religion in favour of the Non-conformists of his Realms; which was not done so much, as we may easily conceive, to favour the Conventicles of some particular Puritans or Anabaptists, as under this name to indulge somewhat with the Roman Catholics. Now as this Counter-march of *England* was one of the First-fruits which the Court of *Rome* had promised it self from the ruine and destruction of the United Provinces, we must not be surpris'd, if that Court have, and then did actually move every stone to make this destruction solidly real: but as that which capitally opposed this design, consisted in the success of his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg's* Success in his undertakings against *Turenne*, (the destruction of that Army being sufficient to re-establish the Republick of the United Provinces, and its re-establishment to overturn all the Progresses of the Church of *Rome* in *England*) it was here that the Jesuite took up his Rest to break off that blow, in which he succeeded too well, against the Universal Interest of all *Europe*; for *Montecuculi*, instead of receiving an Order to joyn with the Army of *Brandenburg*, and to fight *Turenne*, received one quite contrary, which formally forbid him both the one and the other; and as nothing is comparable to the Impudence of these venerable Fathers for pushing forward this affair to their end, their first endeavours were by different attempts to make his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg* to suspect the sincere Intentions of his Imperial Majesty; which was so much the more easie for them to do, because his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg* had received formal Letters from the Court at *Vienna*, which

related unto him precisely the very Order which his Imperial Majesty had sent to *Montecuculi* to joyn and fight ; and his Electoral Highness having thereupon summoned *Montecuculi* to execute the Order, *Montecuculi*, who knew he had received an Order quite contrary, and had no knowledge of the former, could do no less than refuse both the one and the other of his Electoral Highness's Proposition ; nor could his Electoral Highness otherwise than doubt of his Imperial Majesty's sincere Intentions upon this refusal : and at the same time that they practised to inject these Suspicions into the mind of his Electoral Highness, the same Emissaries neglected nothing that might bring *Montecuculi* to suspect the sincere Intentions of his Electoral Highness ; which Suspicions were but too much impressed upon him for his part : so that it was not to be wondered at, if his Electoral Highness did at last suffer himself to be perswaded, as these Emissaries had insinuated by a third hand, that the House of *Austria* did privately carry on a particular Treaty with that of *France* ; which seemed so much the more likely , because his Electoral Highness saw daily the miserable condition of *Turenne's* Army to increase, and yet *Montecuculi* to continue in his obstinate refusal to fight it. But as all this was nothing but mis-understanding, so yet notwithstanding these Emissaries had the means to imploy his Serene Highness the Duke of *Newburg* to busie himself mightily to manage a particular Peace for his Electoral Highness with *France* ; which this Prince in suspicion and despight of the Imperial Conduct, suffered himself to be drawn to accept, with so much the more reason, because on the part of *Holland*, it was pretended they had not performed all they were engaged to ; and as for the Empires Interest, he should preserve his entire Liberty if *France* should attack it. Now by the whole sincere Warp of this History here related , we may see how rash a thing it is to judge of the Actions of a great Prince ; it being certain, that in this Juncture, all *Europe* found themselves extremely divided about what they were to judge of the proceedings of his Electoral Highness. But as this Prince for his own Honour would have his Imperial Majesty well to know, that he had a just resentment of the proceedings of *Montecuculi* ; so this General was greatly surpriz'd at his return to *Vienna*, that his Master demanded so rigorous an account of his Conduct, and the Reasons why he had not joyned the Army of *Brandenburg*, and fought *Turenne*, after he sent him precisely an express Order : but if *Montecuculi* was surpris'd with this demand, his Imperial Majesty was no less, to see what his wise General replied for his entire discharge, a precise Order of his Majesty in very good form, which forbid him all conjunction with *Brandenburg*, and fighting with *Turenne* ; and for certain, this General had then need of all the Justice of his Cause, and of the

the knowledge his Master had of his fidelity, to extricate himself from this troublesome Affair.

I know very well that this Intrigue was one of those Engines which we never could have well penetrated, had not the Author thereof voluntarily given us the Key. I know that it is from this foundation that one of the most unhappy of this Court hath been formally accused to be the Principal of this Cheat; but to speak truth, he was not culpable at all in this Affair, but to those Emissaries of the Court of *Rome* in this Court, in combination with those of *France* upon the aforesaid principles; the chief of whom found means to intercept the said Original Order, so as to transmit by the same dispatch, a false Order, but very well counterfeited both in the Sign and Seal, and that by those people who have not begun now first of all to contrive such surprizes; it being certain that High *Hungary* had not been so often in flames, had it not been that these Emissaries had held so great credit and relation in the said Court.

His Imperial Majesty, his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg*, and the Count *Montecuculi*, know if I speak true, in every particular which hath come to their notice, in this Affair. I know that scarce one of these three, or perhaps none of them, yet know well the Original, nor the Principles of these secret Engines which have been set at work in this Conjunction; and what I know thereof is not from them, but from a place where no particular of this whole Negotiation is unknown, nor of the Principles that animated it; it being most certain, that if the Catholick Account had not been found in *England*, *France* could not have brought about this Cheat so easily; but upon the feasibility of this last Principle, the venerable Society having voluntarily taken on them to act all the principal Scenes of this Tragi-Comedy, they applied themselves with so much greater ardour thereunto, because, besides that they expected thence to prosper in their Capital Design, they hoped also by that success to find some means to blemish in some sort the Reputation and Glory of a Prince, who in the latter part of this Age hath been the principal mortification of the Court of *Rome*.

By the four rehearsed Examples, to which I could joyn many Modern ones, (if some Respects hindred not) the Protestant Princes of *Europe* may see what the Emissaries of the Court of *Rome* can do in the Courts of their Communion, whenever the Interest of Religious matters are concerned: And since these Emissaries have been, and are, as History convinces us, in full possession of the power of promoting the greatest part of the Wars which for many Ages past have from time to time molested Christendom; and that all these Wars, as well as the present, have been kindled by them only in prospect

spect to some particulars conducing to dilate the Papal Dominion, and to work the destruction of the Powers and People who are naturally opposite to such Projects and Designs, I leave it to all the Protestant Princes of *Europe* to judge if their safety can be solidly established in their Leagues and Confederations with the Princes of the Roman Communion, as it may be undoubtably effected by their Leagues and Confederations amongst themselves, if the matter be practicable: and all these are so many Arguments to prove the necessity they have to reconcile, without delay and loss of time, all the different Interests which divide them.

I know, by the Engagements that have been made since the last year against the *Swede*, it will be very difficult to reconcile this Affair; so much the more, because it is without doubt the Interest of the Empire to expulse out of all the extent of its Territories all foreign Powers, amongst whom the *Swede* is unhappily comprized under his prejudice, with so much the more Justice, in that by his unhappy Conduct he hath imprudently drawn the storm on his own head; nevertheless, I dare say, speaking as a Protestant, and pretending to speak to Protestants, that I believe all the Protestant States of *Germany* ought to yield somewhat to the memory of the great *Gustavus*; that Hero of our Faith did so great things to sustain the Protestant Communion throughout the whole extent of the Empire, &c.

Here I have omitted the Apology for the *Swede*, which this Author pursues heartily and largely from his 65 to his 84 page, wherein he excuses the King by his Minority, corruption of his Council, and power of his Unkle Count *Magnus de la Guardie*.

But Page 67, he would have Restitution to be made to the *Dane* and *Brandenburg*; that is, *Wismar* and *Schonen* to the one, and *Stetin* to the other. As for *Brunswick* and *Osnaburg*, he pretends they had no ancient quarrels with the *Swedes*, but have particular reasons to favour him; and that they are heroically generous, and would sacrifice some part of their Estates for the Publick Peace.

Page 69, he saith, that whilst *France* retains a footing in *Alsatia*, the *Swede* ought also to be retained in the Empire to balance; and that *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, and *Brunswick* united, cannot avail so much as the *Swede*. And Page 70, that he will at least enjoy *Deux-Ponts*; and therefore ought not to be so much provoked by extreme rigour, by reason of his Alliances with the Palatine and French Families.

Page 71 and 72, he represents the danger of the Families of *Austria*, *Newburg*, and *Bavaria*, united by League or Marriage; the Palatinate Family, for default of Heirs, to fall to *Newburg*, and the *Austrian* to the same, or *Lorain*; who by Combination with the Ecclesiasticks and other Romans, may endanger the Protestants, divided and watched by *Rome*.

Page

Page 75, He Apologizes for his Apology, and would have it to be understood upon supposition the *Swede* should change his Conduct, forsake *France*, and adhere to the Empire: So Page 76 and 77 *Brandenburg's* Arms may assist against *France* with the *Dane* and *Brunswick* also, and all together make a diversion, hasten Peace, recover *Flanders*.

Page 78 and 79, Otherwise whilst *Sweden* adheres to *France*, Peace cannot be attained without restitution to *Sweden*.

And Page 82 and 83, *Sweden* expelled from *Germany* will be better able to prolong the War in *Denmark*, and so draw succours out of *Germany* to the weakening of their forces against *France*.

Page 83. The *Hollander* will not willingly suffer the *Dane* to be sole Master of the *Sound*, nor the *English* if the *Hollander* were content.

Page 84. He saith, the *Swede* ought the rather to make the desired satisfaction, because the first breach of the Articles of *Munster* were made by the Enterprize of *France* upon *Treves*, *Colmar*, *Schellstead*, and all the Banks of the *Rhine*, &c. to the violation of that Peace.

Ibid. He proceeds; Now this Peace betwixt the Protestant Princes of the North may be made for ought I can see to hinder it; and being *England* and *Holland* have accorded their differences, all the Protestant Powers may make also a Politick Union for the preservation of every one of them in particular, which Union as to the Protestant States, which are Members or Vassals of the Empire under which I comprehend also the two Northern Crowns, may be establish'd, as I conceive, on these Conditions.

First, for the maintenance of the Interests of the Empire, and his Imperial Majesty.

Secondly, for their own particular preservation, and that of their Allies, and in the matter of the second Article they may make a Politick Union with Reservation for the Interests of the first with his Majesty of Great *Brittain*, and the United Provinces for their particular preservation, and principally for the preservation of the Protestant Religion in all places wherever it should be assailed or oppressed by the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*, or Princes of that Communion.

And as to some ancient grudges upon some Pretensions betwixt some Protestant States in the Empire, which are yet to be regulated, it should be ordered that every one should continue in his Rights, and that no armed hostility should be practised betwixt these States, but they should rather endeavour to clear and avoid their differences by the moderation of their Friends, Allies, and Confederates.

For this being established in this manner, his Imperial Majesty and the whole Empire could not but well approve, that a Body so considerable should unanimously agree for the first Article of their Confederation

federation to sustain one anothers Interests against all; and it would naturally follow upon this agreement, that as the Republick of *Venice* hath very judiciously taken for its particular Interest the general of all *Italy*; the Protestants of *Germany* taking for their principal Interest that of the Empire in general; this would necessarily follow thereupon, that the Emperor and Empire would be politically oblig'd to take for their Interest the preservation of the Protestant States, which would by consequence draw on very favourable successes to the advantage of the Protestant Body through the whole extent of the Empire and elsewhere: and the Emperour and Empire ought so much the more cleave to this Interest; for that it is certain, that if this great blow were once given, the Emperour and Empire needed no more to fear the practices or secret workings of *France* with the Electors and private Princes of the Empire of the Roman Communion, nor of all their armed attempts on that part; and this being not established, the Emperour and Empire shall be in a perpetual condition to fear every thing as they both have at present, if the principal Princes of the Protestant Body in the Empire had not generally joined their Forces to those of his Imperial Majesty; and the Empire in that juncture, when *France* by its formidable Armies and publick and secret Leagues with the greater part of the Princes and Electors of Roman Communion in *Germany*, thought to extend his Victorious progress to the *Danube* or beyond, which without the assistance of the Protestants he had doubtless executed too well.

Being then an Union of this nature can produce such good effects, by all these Reasons according to the small Intelligence I have, I conclude afresh, that if the Northern Peace be a thing possible, and the Union of the Protestant States in the form and under the clauses and reservations aforesaid; in as much as to establish the repose and glory of the Empire on the side of *France*, no more is required than to force the French Army to repass the *Rhine*; whoever counselleth the Emperour and Empire, and all its Allies, according to the pressing sollicitation of a certain party to treat with *France* in the Estate things now stand, should do the same thing with a Physician, who seeing his Patient assailed with a mortal disease, if not fundamentally cured, should notwithstanding advise him to take no other than palliative Remedies.

And one of the first truths which ought to be considered, is, that all the Arms of the Emperour and Empire, *Spain*, *Holland*, and their Allies, have not hitherto taken one single piece of ground of the Ancient Patrimony of *France*, and that *France* brought its Arms actually into *Campania*, and in the places of the Empire, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Hainault*, *Luxemburg*, *Limburg*, *Lorain* and *Burgogne*, and hath actually advanced its Conquests in some of these Provinces.

Now

Now to make an honourable and sure Peace, it's necessary to imploy solid means for the Expulsion of the French Armies from the said Countries, and to force them to submit to such a Peace which may work the security and satisfaction of all the said Estates, and this satisfaction and assurance, if it must be such as I have declared, it must herein essentially consist.

First, as to the Empire, that he willingly reduce himself to the Forts of *Brissac*, unless his Imperial Majesty shall choose rather to consent that this place, if it be conquered from *France*, should be absolutely demolished, or together with its dependences given to some Prince of the Protestant Communion; for in this second case it cannot but be altogether safe and wholesome to expel all the French out of the Dominions of the Empire, the same is to be concluded of the Bishoprick in the Country of *Metz*.

Secondly, as to what concerns *Spain*, *France* should be content to reduce it self to the State of the *Pirenean* Peace.

Thirdly, that to recompence *Holland* for *Mastrick*, which this Republick is obliged to concede unto *Spain* to save shipwrack, and for satisfaction for the dammage of the unjust War which *France* had made on them, *Dunkirk* or some other place of equal value shall be given them.

And in the fourth place, that his Highness of *Lorain* shall be fully established in his Dukedoms of *Lorain* and *Bar*.

I must be excused from speaking of what remains to be speculated in favour of other Confederate States, because I have no good nor precise cognizance thereof.

But to come to a Peace both sure and honourable, there are preliminaries without which it is certain our end cannot be attained, and when it doth succeed, all that cannot be called solid and sure.

To attain to the one and assure the other, we must proceed to means to establish in *France* what would so settled make *France* to contain it self modestly in its just bounds, without unreasonable interposing and attempting on its Neighbours.

The one and only means to reduce *France* to this point, is to re-establish, as I have said above, the Civil and Protestant Liberty throughout the whole extent of that Estate, the one of the said establishments being notoriously inseperable from the other, and that all the Confederate States should stilly stand, not to hearken to any Propositions of Peace, till this double Establishment were made, and that for the securing it, the Protestant Party should be possessed of some of the strong and maritime places they formerly had.

Neither ought any person to imagine that I am herein carried only with passion for my Religion: for I absolutely affirm, that without a
real

real execution of the said two Articles, nor solid Peace can be made with *France*, and that it is the only means to stop at once the ambitious Sallies of the Monarch of that Nation by a total incapacity, whereof this establishment only can be a possible execution.

And that the Reader may more sensibly apprehend this Truth, I intreat him to read with a little consideration before he proceeds any farther, my particular observations of the effects which followed in *Europe* upon the fatal Surrender of *Rochel*; the reading of that alone will make him understand that which we are about, and the solidity of my precedent Proposition.

But notwithstanding all the unhappy mischiefs successively befallen the House of *Austria* by this only error of State on its part, for not having employed all its Forces to hinder this surrender, it will for all that perhaps not be easie for that Illustrious House (such is the Zeal it unhappily reserves still for the Interests of a Court which hath caused all its misfortunes) to be perswaded to favour the Establishment of the Protestant Party in the Kingdom of *France*; to help nature herein, I believe it is necessary for their content by way of prelude thereto, unanimously and in a publick way to demand a Session of the States General of *France*, to effect the establishment of the Common Liberty, which will be unanimously embraced by the three Orders of that Estate, and in the consequent explication of the means of Security for its maintenance, it will not be absolutely impossible to attain our purpose of the second part of my Proposal.

Now all the Confederate States with the House of *Austria* and that Illustrious House, are more than positively concluded of this point, in this present Conjunction not to hearken to any Peace, but in doing what heretofore the Kings of *England* and Dukes of *Burgundy* practised in common with the Kings of *France* and States General of his Realm; for this Imperial House and all its Allies have more than sufficiently proved by what succeeded upon the *Pirenean* Peace, that no security can be re-established by any Treaties made with the present Ministers of that Realm by the most solemn Oaths and straitest ties of Consanguinity, which were not strong enough to hinder the violation of that Peace; there is therefore a necessity to reduce him thereto, in the manner aforesaid and no other way, which will infallibly draw after it such consequences as will be wholly for the advantage of the said Confederation, and the Protestant Party in *France*.

These Propositions are too advantageous to the House of *Austria* for them to reject them; and it is certain, that if all the aforesaid States, act in Combination and with a perfect Union to procure all these benefits, they will be able fully to attain them, and bring all *France* perhaps into a mutiny to make their Monarch consent thereto.

But

But as it would not be just that the *Protestant States* should act in the forefaid Union to bring about all these benefits for the *Illustrious House of Austria* and all the *People of France*, and forget themselves, but that at the same time they should procure for those of their Body all the *advantages* that so favourable a *Conjunction* could procure; I am bold to say, that all those *States* by the *Principles* of their *Faith*, of their *Interests*, and of their *Glory*, should bring them to an *Unanimous Resolution* to labour in this *Conjuncture* two things in favour of the *Electoral House Palatine of the Rhine*, with a pure and truly *politick respect* unto the said *Confederation*, and other particular *Managements*.

The first is to procure to this *Illustrious House* a *Justice* that speaks sufficiently for it self, it being certain that the same *Reasons* which caused it to lose part of its *Establishments*, ought to cause a *Restitution* thereof to be made unto it in this *Conjuncture*, and if the *League of the Protestant States* were *solidly* made, and they would act with *necessary vigour*, they would without doubt be in an *Estate* to do *all things* that were just and reasonable in this point.

The second is, not to neglect by pressing Instances to urge his *Palatine Highness Prince Robert* to a suitable Marriage, which might give hopes of *Successors* to this *Illustrious House*, least (by an unpardonable neglect) the *Estates* and *Electoral Dignity* may fall into the hands of a *Prince of the Roman Communion*.

And these are two *Capital Points* whereunto all the said *Protestant States*, as well they who have openly armed themselves, as those who have been content to supply their several *Quota's* to the Arms of the Circles, as being all *naturally interessed* in the Cause, ought to apply themselves, as to a point which *capitally* concerns them all, and whose *consequents* if not prevented must needs be *fatal* to the whole. But as there is no *Rule* so *general* that admits of no *exception*, it may be gathered from all that I have written above, that notwithstanding my *Scruples* against *Confederations* made with *Princes of the Roman Communion*; I am far from blaming those *Protestant States*, who in this last *Conjuncture* embraced the *Interests* of the *House of Austria*, I am perswaded they could not *dispense* therewith, without *betraying* their *true Interest*, it being certain that since the *Providence of God* hath suffered the *Houses of Austria* and *Bourbon* to ascend in *Europe*, its necessary that all the *Protestant States* should since then be *Confederated*, and should put themselves into a condition to ballance these two, that whensoever the one should invade the *Estates* of the other his *Corrival*, he might not be able to subdue all the rest to his *blind obedience*; and as it is manifest that *France* at the present, is the unjust *Aggressor*, and by the principles of a

H

devouring

devouring ambition alone, without any Right, but that of his own Honour or *bienfiance*, would raise to himself the Title of the Conquerour, by invading the Sovereign Dominions of his Neighbours, the Empire, *Austria*, *Holland*, and *Lorrain*, it may be truly said, that all the Protestant Princes who have lifted themselves with the opposite Parties, by all the Rules of a judicious and strict Policy have ranged themselves without contradiction in the Line of their true Interests.

First of all it ought to be considered, that in the Modern Irruptions which the Arms of *France* made into *Holland* four years since, by the manner whereby *France* attempted it, and management precedent to it, or which followed on the Enterprize; the Monarch of this Nation hath plainly taken off his Mask, and made us visibly to know that he ought to be considered in this Conjunction, not only in the same Character of Conquerours of former Ages towards all Estates who had the unhappiness to have Dominions adjacent to their Frontiers, but that he ought also formally to be look'd on as the declared Protector of the Tyrannick Designs of the Papacy, and so the premeditated and positive Enemy and Destroyer (if the matter had been possible for him) of all the States and People whose Faith is naturally opposite to that Tyranny.

The second thing is, that the Imperial House of *Austria* forced by the threats of its utter ruine, having in this occasion now Leagued and Confederated its politick Interests with the greater part of the Protestant States of *Europe*, to oppose it self by a joint endeavour and force to the ambitious Designs of *France*; it is for the Honour of all these States to cause this Imperial House in this Conjunction to acknowledge that Justice, Reason, and Equity hath been the Base, the solid and unmoveable Foundation whereon they have laid all their motions; and that it is also in the Protestant, that all the oppressed Powers of Christendom may find the Bulwark of their Security.

For Considerations of this force serve to confirm the respects of Interests and Glory which establish the Justice of these motions of all the Protestant States in favour of the House of *Austria* in a solid manner: and these motions are so much more glorious for these Princes, and they may draw from thence so much the more happy Events, because the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* by what hath happened in Times past and present, cannot hinder it, but must needs thereupon make reflexions sufficient to open their eyes and make them know in the conclusion:

In the first place their Imprudence in regulating their Councils and Sallies by the passions of the Emissaries of the Roman Communion. Secondly, the temerity and danger of attempting the ruine of any Protestant People, Prince, or Estate. Thirdly, what the United Forces

ces of this Party are naturally capable to execute. And fourthly, the Honour, Candour, and Constancy of that Party; when they are concerned to oppose unjust Enterprises, or to maintain the part of Equity and Justice.

Reflections of this nature ought in consequence teach these two Houses, the regard, esteem, and respect which they ought to have and reserve for a Body so Puissant and Illustrious, as is by God's grace that of the said Protestant Powers, and the people whereof they consist, and if this Party were always so managed, as to insinuate into these two Houses, the Doctrine of these four particulars, we should certainly not see those who are Natives and Inhabitants of the Estates of those two Potentates (*France and Hungary*) handled any more in the manner they now are, nor would these two Families, whatever Solicitations should be made on the behalf of *Rome*, attempt with so much injustice as they have both done at divers times, the ruine of the Principal Members of this Communion.

But if in this present Conjuncture all the Protestant States (except *England* and *Sweden*) have followed their true Interest; I persist affirming that the same Interest engages them Capittally to rectifie the Conduct of *England* and *Sweden*; so as to neglect nothing to gain unto them these two Crowns, in prospect of using all possible endeavours to effect an Union of all the aforesaid Protestant States; that when by many happy Successes, the Arms of his Imperial Majesty, the Empire, and all the Confederate States have reduced *France* to that abatement that their said Interest can require, and in almost in the manner which I have above unfolded; all these States may be in a condition to nail the Wheel, and to produce an Universal Peace in Christendom with all the advantages and solemnities aforesaid, both for their own particular and general Interests, and for their particular of their Brethren through the whole extent of the Empire, and without it, which by the said Union they may be capable to effect (if God permit) without any Impediment from any Power; and without this Union, it may be, some *Nuncio* or Emissary of *Rome* may possibly at a moment, when they think least of it, secretly manage some Marriage betwixt these Families, so as to reconcile their principal differences, and they not be in an Estate to oppose them, nor to gather the Fruits which they might have justly expected.

And I insist so much the more on this that the Protestant States should put themselves in such a condition as I have said above; because it being certain that the Emissaries of *Rome* have been the Instruments of the underworkings which have raised this War, and of the League of *France* with the Electors of *Colen* and *Bavaria*, the Bishops of *Strasburg* and *Munster*, and the Princes of *Newburg* and *Hanover*,

ver, and of the measures taken for the destruction of the Protestant Party in *Europe*, as is too well proved; we must not doubt, but that *Rome* will make all its uttermost possible endeavours to procure it self the honour of making peace. But that all *Europe* may know how far the Morality of the Protestant Faith is distant from the black and earthly malice of the Papacy; I think it belongs to the Reputation of the Protestant States without any mixture with the *Nuncio* or any Emissary of the Court of *Rome*, to procure to themselves the glory of establishing an Universal Peace in Christendom to the satisfaction of all honest men, which by the foresaid Union they will find at one blow to be in their power to effect, if by their private Interests and Jealousies they bury not the Talent which God hath put naturally in their hands, not only for obtaining so great a present good, but also for constituting themselves for ever the infallible Guardians and Preservers thereof; which is the Capital point at which all these States ought to aim, as which will give them the inestimable Character of the Supreme Arbiters of all the Potentates of Christendom and invincible Bulwarks of their Security.

And if I may be allowed to continue to unfold my apprehensions as ingenuously as I have begun as to what I believe will be consequence of a Success of such force, for the good and advantage of the Protestant Body through the extent of the Empire, and by relation to them in several other places; I conceive that all the aforesaid Protestant States having laid down their Arms, ought seriously to apply themselves to solid means to obtain of his Imperial Majesty a modification of the Article touching the Bishop of *Osnaburg*, in such manner as this Bishoprick may be successively enjoyed by the Successors of his Highness of *Osnaburg*, without any mixture of Roman Catholics, it being certain that as his Imperial Majesty is very full of a generous benignity, he seeing with what vigour this Illustrious House hath acted in this conjuncture; for his Interests he will certainly be very easily perswaded to testify toward that House his Imperial resentment and acknowledgement, I doubt not but that a matter of this nature will be entangled with many difficulties; but the said Union compleatly made or to the greater part, will be a Rock to all the Sights and Machinations of the Roman Court, against which they shall effectually split and miscarry.

But if an Article of this force may, and as I believe it would also, be very easie for the said States to cause to be inserted in the same Instrument of Peace which shall be made, some little Negotiations which are necessary to pacifie and lay asleep all matter of Jealousie and discontent betwixt the two Protestant Communions tollerated in *Europe*, so as to deliver them both from some sensible displeasures.

For

For Example, in some Imperial Cities of the Protestant Body, to the shame of the Princes of that Communion, the Pastors of the Lutheran Congregation are obliged to wear, with a kind of Ignominy, a Bonnet like the Jews; it seemed to me a just thing to dispense with them in this for the future, and leave them to their liberty; there being no reason to constrain them to the like Infamy, this being only an unnecessary mark of the animosity which reigned heretofore amongst the Princes of different Communion, which ought upon all Principles of a judicious policy be entirely suppressed and abolished throughout all the extent of the Empire.

In other places in many Imperial Cities, where the Magistracy is of the Communion of *Ausburg*, it is ridiculous to see that whilst the Jews have there, all liberty in the exercise of their Religion; the Reformed are forced with great inconvenience to walk to the exercises of their Devotion without the Wall of the City, who agree with Lutherans in all the principal Doctrines of the Christian Faith, and are, together with them, the common Butt of all the Impressions of the Papal malice, which neglects nothing which might foment their division, and thereby to walk on to solid means of their destruction. Wherefore I conceive, that the States of the Protestant Communion, though of different belief in certain points ought unanimously to endeavour to cause an Article to be inserted in the said instrument of Peace, which might for the future redress such Incongruities which whilst they continue, can be only seeds of Divisions which both their proper Interest and their Charity oblige them to suppress continually in the Protestant Body.

But as all that appears in Christian Faith is commonly animated with the Spirit of Charity, which engages us not only to adhere to what is our peculiar, but to what respects our Brethrens interest, especially theirs, whom we cannot be ignorant to be actually in tribulation: I think the aforesaid Protestant States should do a very heroic Act, if by their mediation, the interests of their poor Brethren might be regulated in such manner, that at least the Emissaries of *Rome* might not have so ample matter, whereupon to raise persecution against them.

For Example, now for a whole Age, *Europe* hath heard no discourse but of the disorders which from Time to Time have risen in high *Hungary*, *Silesia*, and other the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria*: I commend not those of the Protestant Body of that Kingdom who for their private Interests or Ambition may be the cause of these revolts and seditions in those Countries; but if a great part of those disorders arise from the discontents which the want of means to attend their spiritual Exercises do cause, which without doubt is almost the

only cause, I conceive it were a work very pleasing to be able by humble Representations to his Imperial Majesty to cause him to establish an Order which might for the future banish from that Country all matter of discontent, which I judge to be very feasible.

For if his Imperial Majesty shall consider the merits of all the Successors whom all the said Protestant State should leave behind them; so that for Politick Reasons which engage him to prevent such disorders, he would make an establishment for the future, that so oft as in any Country, or in any particular place, Protestants should be found to a certain number, and should desire to have a free exercise of their Religion, they should be qualified to procure it without other Obligation, then that of signifying by a simple act their number and desire to the Magistrate of the place; I conceive that by such an expedient his Imperial Majesty might cut up the root of all those unhappy Revolts which engage him to extraordinary Expences, and of the perpetual cares and alarms, and other practices, which the Court of Rom's Emissaries furnish and trouble him with to redress these mischiefs, which are more proper to cast those Countries into flames then to establish their Repose, as fatal experience of a whole Age cannot but have too well taught him.

And as the Peace which shall intervene will infallibly be an Universal Peace to all Christendom, and so different Interests which concern its Tranquility may therein be regarded, following still my intent, which is to respect the extent and advantage of the Protestant Faith, I must say that it will be of great Importance for the said Protestant States to obtain of his Catholick Majesty a Modification of the Instrument of the last Peace, which *France* made with the Republick of the *Grisons*, as touching the matter of the Reformed Religion in *Chaveine* and the *Valtoline*, for the Inhabitants of both parts of that Religion who are in the said places though their Magistrates are for the greatest part reformed, are obliged by a corruption inserted in the Treaty of Peace to walk at least three or four Leagues on the Lord's days to attend their Exercises of Devotion: It is most certain that it is a considerable interest of his Majesty to consent to the Modification of this Article, if he would preserve the Amity of this Republick; and of this I have very precise knowledge; for if the Abbot of *St. Roman*, Embassadour for his most Christian Majesty in *Switzerland* in the Propositions he made to some of the Republick, had been advised to let fall a word, that the King his Master would consent to a free Exercise of the Reformed Religion in those places; I know that the League of that Republick with the House of *Austria* had been in danger to be dissolved: for thus I judge that this represented and maintained in such manner as it may by the Plenipotentiaries

aries of the Protestant States, it will not be absolutely impossible to annul this Article, which will be of extraordinary consideration for the good of the Protestant Faith in that Quarter; many good Souls which profess that Religion, though they reside in *Italy*, ardently desire this Consolation, and this I can say of my certain knowledge.

But we have insisted long enough upon some Accessaries, let us go to the Principal; it is so common with very many Protestants of all Orders who enjoy peaceably according to their wish all conveniences temporal and spiritual, not to be able to dispose themselves by the Principles of Charity to compassionate the miseries and afflictions of their oppressed Brethren, that it is for this Reason that I have applied my self to make them know whereunto they are engaged in this particular for their temporal Interest.

But if in the first Point I have prospered somewhat to make known the connexion and indissoluble bond of Interests which the Providence of God hath established betwixt the subsistence of the Politick Interests of all the Potentates of Christendom, and of the Protestants more especially with the re-establishment of the Protestant Party in *France*, by the sincere Rehearsal which I am about succinctly to make of the miseries wherein that Body of our Brethren in that Kingdom are plunged; I would shew the Protestant States for my second Head whereto their Pity, their Charity and their Glory ought to engage them.

To make known sincerely the Estate of the Protestant Body in *France*; I will not amuse my self in expounding what is publicly known to the greatest part of understanding persons who have travelled through that Realm, or who have taken the pains to get some Information thereof; I will content my self only to observe that the Emisseries of the Court of *Rome* having successively insinuated into the spirits of the Monarchs of this Nation, that they could not think of advancing their Progress abroad till after they were solidly assured of all at home, and that therefore it was necessary for them wholly to exterminate the Protestant Party out of their Kingdom; this Counsel hath so strongly prevailed in the Councils of these Monarks, that since Cardinal *Richelieu's* Ministry, nothing hath been omitted to make it fully succeed.

For this purpose all the Bishops in every Diocess have had order to give Instructions to all the Parish Priests, to hold an actual eye on all solid means to proceed unto this destruction; and the Governours, Counsellours and Intendants of the Provinces, as well as all the Officers of Justice have had like order to concur with the Solicitations of those Bishops; wherefore we need not admire at the Tribulation which these poor miserables do suffer; for it is from these fomentations

tions that we see dayly in all parts of that Kingdom ; Children rebel against their Parents, Wives against their Husbands, Vassals and Subjects against their Lords , Household Servants against their Masters, for what ever injury or violence is committed in these sorts of Rebellions, he that embraceth the Religion of his Prince hath always reason on his side , and he that persists in the Protestant Faith hath always wrong.

So that as it is very hard in a House to regulate every thing so well that there should not naturally arrive some accident betwixt the said Parties , these Emissaries never loose any occasion directly or indirectly to bring about such Contests to kindle the fire more strongly, and thence the heat more fiercely, and if this succeeds , to insinuate their Poyson.

Hereby it may appear what bitter potions the most happy and wise of the Reformed in Popish Dominions are forced to swallow.

More than two thirds of their Temples have been demolished within these ten years: more than half their Colledges suppressed.

No Protestant can have the least place in the Offices nor Troops of the King's Household ; and if in the common Troops persons of the highest merit rise to the place of a Lieutenant Colonel, it is rarely seen that they pass farther : What hath befallen the *Mareschal Schomberg*, is not an Argument to prove, that the French Protestants that deserve well may rise thither ; he is at present that *Phoenix* which appears but once in an Age.

But if any Protestant be so unhappy as to have any Suit against any Roman Catholick, he may assure himself, how little dubious soever his Cause is, his Affair is lost.

If two Protestants have any Suits, he that Apostotizeth is sure to carry it against him that persists in his Faith , who shall never fail to loose his Cause.

But all this abovesaid is nothing at all to that which was provided for them, if the Invasion of *Holland* had succeeded, for warrant whereof I can alledge one of the most Heroick Princes of all *Europe*, who read himself the Declaration ready provided , and who thereupon was struck with an Horrour , and spoke immediatly with liberty his thoughts upon that point to considerable Persons ; but the ill success of that Irruption and some other Respects have caused that Monster for the present to be laid up in due darknes.

First of all the King declared himself by this goodly Declaration, Tutor of all the Infant Pupils of Protestant Fathers, and so condemned all those poor unhappy Creatures to be sacrificed to the adoration of Idols.

In the second place all the Temples and Colledges of all the
Royal

Royal or Episcopal Cities or places belonging to Catholick Lords were suppressed throughout all *France*.

In regard that by the Edict of *Nantes* every Lord having right of Fee-simple, might have at his House the Exercise of Religion more or less extended according to the nature of his Fee; by this Declaration it was expounded not to extend to any places but those, which at the time of that Edict did belong to Protestant Lords; now for that many Lords had since changed their Religion, and the greater part of the Lands had by a natural vicissitude of things changed Masters, thence it would have followed that no exercise of Religion in those Fees would have been preserved in that Kingdom, though it be those only that, so many as they be, have in the furious overthrows of Protestant Temples made the Exercises of Religion to subsist abroad in the Country.

In the fourth place, all the Chambers of the Edict or *Miparties*, were by this Infamous Declaration suppressed, and all the *Mipartite* Mayoralties which were established in former times in favour of those of the R. Religion.

And to complete their misery by the same Declaration; all Children born in Marriages, not blest by the Priests of the Roman Communion after the publication of that Declaration, were declared incapable to succeed their Fathers and their Mothers in their Goods and Possessions.

Note that by a former Declaration all the Protestants in *France*, who had received a blessing on their Marriage by the hands of a Priest of the Roman Communion with Abjuration, in case they returned to communicate in the Exercises of the Protestant Religion wherein they were born, were declared Relaps'd, and their Goods Confiscate.

I forbear to set down here some other Articles not so considerable as the former, which yet were no less unjust nor malicious; the reading of the preceding seem sufficient to me, whereby the more sound Party of the Protestants of *Europe* may examine (as I do with all my heart intreat them) the pernicious fare which the Papal Council had prepared for the Protestants of *Holland*, at that very time, wherein they pretended to make them submit unto the Dominion, Protection, or Discretion of *France*, and that *England* and *Sweden* in particular may see the surprize, which the Court of *Rome* by the Channel of *France's* Ministers had provided for them, and the Iniquity of the Cause they have put themselves into a condition of protecting, in authorizing the Irruptions, Burnings, and ambitious Enterprizes of *France* on the Low-Country Provinces, and the Empire:

And all these States, and all the People of their Dominions being instructed in their Interests, which engaged them to sustain the cause

K

of

of the Re-establishment of Liberty in *France*, both Temporal and Spiritual, which as to the second Head consists in the common cause of their Brethren in this Estate; all these Benefits cannot be effected but by a positive Union of their good will and Forces; I leave them to consider whether I had ground to insinuate this with all my power, praying the good God with all the ardour of my soul that he would inspire into this Illustrious Body Sentiments and Resolutions of Piety and Glory, such as a Cause so solid, so just, and so holy requires. I finish the first part of my Discourse, reserving myself to press home this matter more strongly, assaying in good earnest to open the eyes of the Protestant Body in *Europe*, to make them sensibly apprehend what they are to expect from their Enemies, and what they are in condition to do by the Forces, which God's providence hath put in their hand, not only to deliver themselves from all these Judicious Apprehensions, but also to become the indisputable Arbiters of the Fortunes of their Friends and Enemies.

P A R T II.

The Error of Estate made by many Potentates in the Business of the Reduction of Rochelle; the Consequences whereof have been the cause of most considerable Conversions of Estate, Wars and Disorders of Europe, which we have seen since that time.

Cardinal of *Richelieu*, who without doubt was the greatest Person and Minister of State that *France* hath of many years produced, or which it may be it shall have hereafter for a long time, was he who first laid the Axe, to the foot and roots of the Imperial Family of *Austria*, and having in an admirable manner pierced into the knowledge of that wherein the true Interest of *France* might consist, to raise the glory of its Kings to the highest degree of all greatness; he knew also to adhere only to essential Maxims, whence so glorious a Work ought to be commenced: And this is so true, that we may positively conclude as a most certain thing, that whatever *Mazarin* hath executed since, and whatever *Messieurs Le Tellier, Colbert, Louvois, and de Pomponne* have since performed in our days for the Grandeur and exaltation of their Monarch, are no other than

than the fruits of the Heroick Labours of that great Minister, and the Execution of the *Memoires* and secret Instructions of his Ministry; it being certain that so far as they have not departed therefrom, their Glory and Success have been inseparably united to the greater part of their Expeditions, and so far as they have departed from them, their Enterprises have many times been attended with loss of Glory to their Master; these are things which we observe sometimes by the way, whilst we confine our selves to the pursuit of our Observations and Remarks upon some Errors of Estate in the Ministry of *France*; but our design at present is to begin to observe for our private satisfaction that Point alone for the Reduction of *Rochelle*, a Capital *quid pro quo* of Estate of the most part of the Potentates of *Europe*, who might have hindered it; if they on that occasion had known their true Interest, and the excellent Conduct of that great Minister at the same time.

And first of all we will apply our selves only to observe what is but too well known, I mean the misadventures, which have successively fallen out in *Europe*, to the prejudice of the most powerful Estates therein, by this Reduction only, and those greater which are ready to befall them, if some part of them redress it not.

The Siege of *Rochelle* being settled about it, the Town was but weakly relieved by the English, so that we may affirm that their last expedition which seemed to be set out for that purpose after the death of *Buckingham*, was rather a succour of show and appearance than reality, if it might not be said rather that the good King then could not do all he would for their Relief, *Holland* blind to their enemies own true Interest upon this occasion lent their Maritime Forces to advance this Reduction.

Spain who ought more than any other Potentate to have known and apprehended the consequences thereof, thought it better to give credence to its pretended Council of Conscience, then to great *Spino-la*, who having personally visited *Rochelle* in the conjunctures of the Siege, and perceived the Infallibility of its Reduction, unless speedily relieved (for it was he that gave that advice to the Cardinal to shut it out from the Sea, the Infallible means of its Reduction, and repented thereof too late) he prophesied punctually at the Council at *Madrid*, all the misadventures which befel them, and followed upon this Reduction, to the prejudice of the greatness of the *Austrian* Family.

All the Roman Catholick Party of *France* made it so strong a Point of Religion to contribute what lay in them to this Reduction, that we may say of them as sometimes the deceased and very wise Marshal of *Bassompierre*; They were great fools who gave themselves no repose until by the sacrifice of their goods, blood and lives they had effected it.

Let

Let us now examine apart in a few words that which consequently did happen upon this Error of Estate to the Imperial House of *Austria*, to *Holland* and *France* it self; I speak of State Affairs, and also by the consequences thereof to the greater part of the rest of *Europe*.

For *England* we need only take a small tast of the Travels and Adresses of the late *Monsieur* President de *Thou*, Embassadour of *France* in *England*; to understand that upon the King of *England*'s failing to succour *Rochelle*, was the foundation whereon that insinuation was advanced into the spirits of the People of that Kingdom, that his late Majesty of Great *Britain* had in secret by the perswasion of *Henrietta de Bourbon* his Wife, embraced the Roman Religion, and that his designs tended to nothing more then to procure the destruction of the Protestant Religion in *England* as well as in *France*, if it could possibly be done; which supposition though doubtlesly false against that pious and learned Prince, yet it was occasioned by that unhappy slackness of supplies for the relief of *Rochelle*: we may say that it was upon this foundation that *France*, by the means of the said Lord *Thou*, gave life to the universal revolt of all *England*, and to that unfortunate *Catastrophe* which all *Europe* have beheld with horreur and astonishment; and this is the very truth, that the departed *Monsieur de Thou*, who was not a Person that would speak untruth, did affirm before his death to several of his Confidants, of which some are yet alive, that he protested that he died with sore regret, that he had intermedled with that unfortunate Affair.

As for the most Illustrious Family of *Austria*, in examining what hath befallen it on these two Heads, since that fatal Reddition.

First, with respect to the *Imperialists*, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Princes of *Transylvania*, and all their Confederates being humbled or destroyed; we may truly say it was in a condition to do what it could reasonably desire in *Germany*; but by the Consequence of that Reduction, *France* was in condition to send its Aids abroad, and to make Alliances, and having in consequence thereof subscribed to the *Swedish* League, it is easie to see what, after the Great *Gustavus* did set foot in the Empire, did happen through the whole extent thereof to the prejudice of this Illustrious House till the Peace of *Minster* and *Osnaburg*.

The eight Electorate, *Brisac* and *Philipsburg*, with all the Conquests of the *Swede* in the Empire, and the enfeebling the Body of the German Church for the Recompences made to the Elector of *Brandenburg* and Prince of *Meckleburg*, are the living Monuments of the failures on that side.

For *Spain* we may say, that till the Reduction of *Rochelle* it was not always triumphant, but it had thitherto supported the weight of its greatness

greatness with glory ; and was in an Estate to make all them to fear it, who did not love it ; till then *Flanders*, *Italy*, and *Germany* beheld a numerous Armies on their side ; the Sea also beheld their Naval Forces of some consideration , and the Frontiers of the *Pirenees* with the two Seas were their only Neighbours and Frontiers through all the extent of *Spain* , and all that *Isthmos* acknowledged their Law's from the *Pirenees* to *Hercules* pillars and farther ; till then they preserved to their advantage Friends and Pensioners secretly in all the Courts of *Europe*, *France* it self not excepted , but as if all that glory had been buried in the reduction of *Rochelle*, it may be truly said that whosoever shall examine the ruines of the greatness of *Spain*, with their miscarriages in the greatest part of their Designs almost perpetual since the reduction of this petty *Carthage* , so that the astonishing dismembrings which this Puissance hath suffered, and the hard Treaties which it hath been forced to subscribe will evince that its glory seems to be interred in the ruines of the fortifications of this Town ; for whether it were through its Military Expeditions, or the Conduct of its Ministers , or the little care it hath had to keep its intelligence amongst its Enemies, and after with its Allies, as well as the facility wherewith the Ministers of *France* after *Richelieu*, pierced into the most secret deliberations of the Council of *Madrid* ; it is most true that after the Error of Estate on their part, this Puissance did flutter only with one wing, which gave courage together with other accidents of a different nature ; to the *Catalonians*, *Portugese* and *Neopolitans*, and likewise to the *Messinese* of late to enterprise by incitation and puissant Succours of *France* , what they have hitherto attempted ; it being most certain that without vigorous Succours from its Allies, it would be at present exposed to an entire invasion of the most considerable part of its Estate, as well in the old as in the new World.

For *Holland*, the Case is so hot and fresh in the miseries which have befallen them within these four years by their Error of Estate in the conjuncture of that Siege, that certainly it is needless for me to make a long discourse to evince this truth ; for I believe there is not any man of perfect understanding, who knows not readily, and is not well perswaded, that if *Rochelle* in the time that his most Christian Majesty did attempt to subject *Holland*, had been in the hands of the Protestants of *France* , in such manner as it was before, and as it probably might have been if this Republick had not furnished out its Sea Forces to make this Reduction, his most Christian Majesty had never dared to enterprise an Expedition of that nature, and that for two unanswerable Reasons. The first because *Rochelle* by its subsistence gave life to two millions of Reformed Christian Souls which are yet in *France* ; whatever the Jesuits please to say, that there are but 1500000, *France*

L

having

having in its bowels so considerable a number of Protestants, would never have determined to have undertaken the destruction of a Protestant Republick, which by its situation so favourable as it had to *Rochelle*, was in condition to put *France* it self into disorder.

Secondly, they would have found themselves without a possibility or force to have attempted this enterprize; for the Liberty of *France* (I mean that of Estate) being in force and its prime (as without doubt it would have been to this time, had *Rochelle* been unsubdued) the Ministers of *France* and their Monarch would have been more cautious than to have attempted it: if then this foundation be truly laid, as I shall prove it more largely hereafter, my Masters the Estates of the United Provinces, who are persons that commonly understand strictly to take the account of their interest, may calculate, after they have set on one side the profits which they received from *France* for Vessels which they lent or sold them to advance this Reduction, and have set on the other side the loss which by the late Expedition of his most Christian Majesty against them they have sustained, that which arises of gain or loss at the foot of the account in this Commerce of theirs, and the *quid pro quo* of Estate in this Juncture shall be plain.

As for *France* considered in it self, I speak of its State in its three Estates, we may admire in this point the wonderful light of the deceased *Monsieur Marshal de Bassompierre*, which I quoted above; for it is a truth no more disputed, but generally known of all persons of worth and intelligence in *France* of the Roman Communion; That the Liberty of all *France* was buried in the reduction and demolition of the fortifications of the Town of *Rochelle*: It was this City that sustained the dying liberty of *France* since the Reign of *Lewis* the Eleventh, and which was in a condition to re-establish it, and with its liberty to uphold also the liberty of all *Europe*, both in their Religious and Civil Concerns. If the aforesaid Powers as well as *France* it self, ignorant of their true interest, had not by their connivance or by their Succours brought about the aforesaid Reduction; for to what purpose serves it for the Gentry of *France* to see their Monarch triumph over all his Neighboury Princes; if this only tend to increase the number of Slaves under his Dominion, or rather to give them the sensible and tormenting displeasure to see the Forces and Power of some Estates broken in pieces, who by their Subsistence and Ayds might have had time and place to have holpen them in some favourable conjuncture to break the chains and shake off the yoke which oppresseth them; whereas if no Power be in a condition to make Head against their Prince, who shall be able to lend them assistance to free them from their oppressions.

But that it may not be thought that I advance a strange notion, in
that

that I would build the safety of a whole Realm, and also of the greatest part of *Europe* on the simple surrender of one Town, which hath been entituled with the name of a Rebel, we must examine it : And to penetrate into the bottom of this matter, I consider, that in the Estate the King of *France*'s Authority now is there can be no other then the re-establishment of one of the three means which I shall after expound, or some equivalent, which can hinder these Kings absolutely to dispose of the Lives and Goods of their Subjects, and that thereby they may not be able by the formidable multitude of people of all degrees which are in *France*, their Industry, Courage and Martial Activity, to hold all their Neighbours in perpetual and well grounded alarms ; I would be understood to speak of the means which *France* hath had or may have in it self to maintain or establish its liberty.

The first of these means is as ancient an Institution as the Office and name of a King in *France* ; for it hath been since the time the ancient *Franks* did conquer the *Gauls* ; that is the Election of a Palatine or Major of the Palace, who was the Consul and Head of the People, and the true Protector of the Liberty of his Country, who had Power to deal as an Arbitrator betwixt the King and his People, and to regulate and decide all their differences, and in truth the ancient Kings of *France* were no other to speak properly than the chief Captains General of their Realm, and in the Palatine resided the Principal charges of the Estate ; as the Chancellour, Constable and Admiral, and it is very true that in this manner the Authority was very well parted betwixt the King and his People, who were represented as for this last regard by the Palatine : but *Hugh Capet* knowing very well by the consequence of what he and *Pepin* had done, that the same Palatines might one day act the very same against their Successours, he with dexterity suppressed the Office of the Palatine, and annexed it unto the Royalty : see here the manner wherein appears the first means whereby the liberty of Estate in *France* hath subsisted during the two first Races of its Kings, suppressed and abolished by a Palatine himself, in whose Person the third Race of those very Kings did commence, whose Successours have reigned in a continued Succession unto this day.

But as *Hugh Capet* could not come to this Crown but with the satisfaction of all the Principal Members, and especially those of his own degree ; this was the cause that the evil consequences which would have arisen from the Office of Palatine were not perceived nor redressed, as the interest of State without doubt required ; and that he might take away all resentments thereof ; *Hugh Capet* being too subtle and refined a Politician to leave any suspicion in his peoples minds ; he made use of this contrivance to substitute the Sessions
of

of the States General of the Kingdom under the name of Parliaments, of which we find very little mention during the Reign of the Kings of the two first Races : for in as much as the Deputies of the three Estates compose this Assembly , it may seem at first view that *Hugh Capet* had not suppressed the Office of Palatine for other purpose then to diffuse all the Authority of this Eminent Charge upon the particular Members of the said Assembly ; but these good souls did not reflect that the Office of Palatine was perpetual, and that the Session of the Parliament was only then held when the King had a fancy to assemble them ; albeit it is true that the States General of *France*, if they were in possession would understand it otherwise, notwithstanding by the consequence we may understand, how dangerous it is to change under what pretence soever the Fundamental Laws of Estate, let the appearances be never so specious that the same advantage is retained, it being certain that they who have the courage or dexterity to modulate or conquer Sovereign Estates know better than any other by what Maxims their Successours may be enabled to maintain themselves therein ; for when the *French* first conquered the *Gauls* they chose a King out of the number of their Generals , they also wisely devised as I touched above , all that might hinder their Kings from ever becoming Tyrants. Now in the Estates Generals or Parliaments consisted the second means whereby the publick Liberty in *France* did subsist, so long as their Sessions were frequent ; but in process of time *Lewis* the Ninth having reunited the greatest part of the particular Principalities which were in *France* unto the Crown, *Charles* the Eighth having accomplished that great Work by his Marriage with *Anne* the Heiress of the Dukedome of *Britain* , these Princes believing and finding themselves above all accidents, the assembling of the Estates General of the Kingdom hath been so long discontinued , that at length all use of it hath been as it were quite lost ; and thereby the second means of maintaining the liberty of *France* through the whole extent thereof is vanished and dissipated as the former, then the publick liberty was in a pitiful Estate until such time as the Reformation began to get footing in *France* : for as the Reformation of *Luther* was doubtless the means of saving the *German* liberty, so the Reformation of *Calvin* in *France* did not help a little to revive the dying liberty of that Estate.

Now by the following cruel and bloody persecutions wherewith the reformed were thereupon pursued in *France* , the Head of that Party being inclosed in *Rochelle*, and from thence giving life to the rest of the Party through the whole Extent of *France*, it may be truly said that *Rochelle* in the defect of Palatines and General Assemblies with the rest of its Party did little less in *France* then what a pit or excellent Cistern

Cistern of pure water doth in a dry and parched place, in the times of greatest heat, for the use of water being of an indispensable necessity for the service of life, and these dry places in the most ardent heat being destitute of Fountains or Rivers, as in the defect of these natural means we think our selves happy in the comfort of Cisterns, though they be means extraordinary, so of the like nature was the subsistence of the Protestant Party in *France*: for the Palatines and Sessions of the States General in *France* by their total or tacite suppression, being not able to sustain any longer the liberty of the State; *Rochelle* and its Partisans as an extraordinary means so long as it subsisted, did in one manner or other maintain this accidental Liberty, which hath entirely disappeared since the reddition thereof, so that at this day all *France* is wholly fallen into a domination purely despotic, and to speak the truth being a Body sick of ill humours which subsisted by one only sort of nourishment, and wholly excluded from it, its death by consequent is inevitable.

As to the tacite interest which the greater part of other Powers of *Europe* might have had to oppose themselves against this rendition with as much vigour as *Spain*, *England*, *Holland* and *France* it self ought to have done, if they had followed their true Interest, for this they need only in the first place see into what Estate all the Potentates of *Europe* would have been reduced, if the irruption into *Holland* had succeeded, and if the Sovereign Lord of all things had not taken away their light and spirit from the Ministers of *France*, after they had taken *Utrich* and *Narden*, to make themselves Masters of the Town of *Amsterdam*, which might have been done for some days more easily than the Commonwealth of the United Provinces could by means of this place alone preserved have recovered unto it self in a small time the possession of the greatest part of their conquered Estate.

In the second place we must examine what by the loss of the Liberty of the People of *France*, this Monarch disposing absolutely as I have said before of the wealth and industry of all his Subjects is able to do and execute against all his Neighbours, with relation there-to against all the Potentates of Christendom, and by this Reflection all the Powers concerned to deliver themselves from such apprehensions may see how much it imports them to redress such an Evil; as this cannot be done without bringing about an Establishment of the liberty of Estate in *France*, and that re-establishment cannot probably be effected without restoring life to the Protestant Party of *France*, and being that Party cannot re-establish it self without Puissant Foreign Aid, all these Powers interested in this re-establishment may see, that if so terrible a *quid pro quo* of Estate have been rendred them for suffering the Protestant Party to be subdued by the Rendition of

M

the

the Town of *Rochelle*, they shall make it altogether irreparable, if before they dissolve their Confederacy and put off their Arms, they hearken to any Propositions of Peace until they have by Succours and real encouragements brought about so desirable a re-establishment; for without this Foundation neither Peace nor Precautions can be found, which may possibly deliver the Christian World from the apprehension of changing as to the greatest part of it, the State and face, both temporal and spiritual, wherewith I conclude my small Observations concerning the aforesaid Error of State.

Though in these Observations nothing was said of the Lords, Bishops and Clergy of *France*, nor of their great and absolute Master the Pope, yet it will be very easie from the Principles here laid down compared with the Attempts this King of *France* hath made for reforming his Subjects into a neutral Religion contained in the following Articles, to evince that the Pope and Clergy both of *France* and other Neighbour Countries, as much as they hate the Calvinists can hope for no other than a mongrel and precarious Religion, Discipline and arbitrary maintenance and tolleration from the Kings of *France*, if once the Reformed Religion were expelled out of his Dominions, besides that if any one King of *France* should at any time change his Faith, or this King pursue his intended Reformation and re-union, their utter ruine must thereon necessarily ensue.

And it was for this reason the present Pope did herein imitate the wise Counsel of his Predecessors, and did enter the League with this present Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and other Catholick and Protestant Princes against the Kings of *France* and *Sweden* to procure the liberty of *France*, as he did with the King of *France* against *Charles* the Fifth, Emperour and King of *Spaine* for the liberty of *Germany*, remembring how unkindly his Catholick Majesty detained his Holiness in captivity, and what Reformations he designed and had certainly made, had his design taken effect in *Germany*, a Body though greater yet not so united as this of *France*.

The Articles of a New French Reformed Religion, follow.

1. *A Confession of Faith shall be drawn up in general terms, which shall comprehend the Faith professed by both Religions without touching at all upon these Points in which they are not agreed.*
2. *There shall be no Disputes about controverted persuasions, and the Preachers shall be forbidden to preach pro or con, and the reading of the School-Divines shall be prohibited in the Schools.*
3. *There shall be a Patriarch created, who shall depend on the King alone, who shall not be married nor the Bishops.*
4. *The Patriarch shall dispence with wives and degrees of Consanguinity, and shall be Head of all the Clergy.*

5. *The*

5. The Archbishops and Bishops shall be chosen by the Clergy of their Respective Diocesses, who shall name three Venerable and Learned Persons of the Age of thirty years at least, of which the King shall choose one.
6. In like manner Benefices shall not be any more resigned, but they shall be all in the King's nomination, except the Rectors and Parish Priests, who shall be chosen by their Chapters, together with the Parish Priests, and those of the Cathedrals or chief incorporated Churches of each City where they inhabit, the Bishop or his Vicar being President, and the Prebendaries shall be fitted with learned and pious men of the Age of thirty years at least, whereof some shall be Preachers and Professors of Divinity, to the intent that they may instruct the Youth, others shall visit the Diocess and have inspection over their manners, their Revenues shall be distributed according to the first intention.
7. There shall be an University established in every Bishoprick, which shall be furnished with the best learned Professors that can be found, which may be composed partly of the Clergy and Canons, and shall be only a School.
8. A Seminary shall also be established in every Bishoprick on the same Foundation, to instruct those that are Candidates of the Priesthood, if it be not found more convenient to imploy the Canons therein according to their first Institution.
9. The Parochial Priests alone of all the Clergy may marry, and shall not be received without first undergoing a Severe Examination of their Capacity, and shall be obliged to make a Sermon or Exhortation of half an hour at least every Lords day.
10. The Ministers shall be provided of Cures in the places of their Residence, and where they cannot be provided they shall part the Service with the Curates of the Place, and shall be in the meantime provided on the place with wages as formerly, and some of them shall also be imployed in the Universities and Schools of Divinity, according to their Abilities, and to take away all doubts from the Scrupulous, they shall be obliged to assist every Lords day in the Service of the Parish, and to communicate on yearly Festivals by the hands of such as shall be in Orders.
11. The one half of the Cloisters shall be suppressed, and none of the Female Sex shall be suffered to make a Vow, unless they be above thirty years of Age.
12. The Liturgy shall be reformed, and put into an Intelligible Language, whereunto extraordinary Prayers may be added according to occasion, and the Curates and Preachers may also make prayers of their own Invention in the beginning and at the end of their Exhortations. The Vespers or Evening Prayers shall be composed of Hymns and Psalms in French, and some part only of ancient use shall be retained in another Language.
13. A good part also of the less needful Ceremonies shall be reformed as Torches at Funerals, part of the Canonizations, Procession and Pilgrimages, and the Postures of the Priest at the Altar, and the Spirits of the People shall be taken off as much as can be from the Exterior of Religion.
14. Images shall be taken out of Churches.
15. The Communion shall be delivered to the People on their knees before the Host in both kinds.
16. Confession shall be made before the Communion, and the Communion shall be administered only on the Lords days.
17. Every one shall be obliged to Communicate once every year in his own Parish Church, on pain of Excommunication the first and second time, and Banishment the third.
18. No man shall be obliged to fall on his knees before the Host, save only at the Communion.
19. Confession shall not be so frequent, and none other save the Curates and Ancient Preachers shall take Confessions.
20. Baptism and the Eucharist shall be the greater Sacraments, Confirmation shall be a consequent of Baptism, or an Examen in order to the Communion, and shall be administered

administred by the Canons or Parochial Priests; the extreme unction shall be a Sacrament, Orders and Marriage shall be administred by those who have right to Confess; Penance shall be a necessary Work, which the Bishops, Curates, and Confessors shall appoint unto Sinners according to the greatness of their Crimes, and when the Scandal is publick the Penance shall also be publick, but with Moderation and Discretion.

21. The Festivals shall continue, but shall not be observed with the same exactness as the Lord's day.
22. Lent and the Fasting-days shall be observed, but there may be exception made of all the Lord's days in Lent, the Saturdays of all the year and all the Vigils.
23. The Saints shall be honoured, but without invoking them directly, and all Prayers shall be directed to God alone.
24. Pardons and Indulgences shall be reformed, and endeavours shall be used to instruct the People as much as possible to make them apprehend that they ought to ground the Remission of their sins on the blood of Christ.

All this and what else they can agree on shall be approved by an Assembly General, which shall be composed of the most learned Divines of the one and the other Religion, and they shall prepare the Confession which is spoken of above.

But herein is the difficulty, that the greater part of the Catholicks fancy that is too loose, and they of the Reformed Religion think it too little, and are afraid they shall be deceived in what is promised them.

These Articles were testified and made notoriously known through all France by those to whom they were addressed, by him who was sent by the King to sollicite the Re-union, a Reformado of the King's Guards, *Bacary* by name, and Nephew (as he saith) of the deceased Mr. *Gauches* Minister at Charenton. His Warrant from the King was in these Words.

The Bearer of this Paper having order to make some Propositions on my part to the Ministers of the Pretended Reformed Religion, they may Consider in whatsoever he shall say unto them, and persvade them that it is not my intent to do any thing against the Edicts and Declarations I have made at Ath. June 18. 1671.

LEWIS.

His Certificate all written in Marshal *Turenne's* own hand, hath these Words.

You may give entire Credit to him, who shews you this Paper, and to what he saith, having order from the King to tell you, that he will perform all the things which he shall promise you, and that this comes in the behalf of his Majesty.

TURENNE.

The Bearer of this Paper tells the Ministers to whom he applies himself, that 4th Bishops have promised the King, that for the advantage of the Re-union they will cut off the Adoration of Images, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, that they will establish the Service in the Vulgar Tongue, Communion in both kinds, and that for the real presence, the Divines on both Sides shall accord thereon, and that if the Pope oppose himself, he shall be removed, and a Patriarch established in France. These are the Reformado's own Words.

